

Kreol Morisien & Identity Construction of Primary Creole Pupils

7.1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to conduct an analysis of data and a discussion of my findings. These two tasks are to answer my central research question and to verify the main assumption that I made right at the start of the study. As stated in chapter 1, my central research question was: **How does the introduction of KM as an optional language in primary education shape Creole pupils' language identity construction?** At this final stage of my research, I address the central research question which was guided by **three** research questions that I used during my investigation. As spelt out in chapter 1, these research questions were as follows:

(i) what are the socio-historical processes which led to the introduction of KM as an optional language ?

(ii) what are the heads of school and teachers' experiences on the introduction of KM as an optional language in primary education in Mauritius?

(iii) what changes have been observed as a result of the introduction of KM as an optional language in primary education ?

Schram (2006) describes qualitative research as “contested work in progress” (p. 15) and the qualitative predisposition as “embracing complexity, uncovering and challenging taken-for-granted assumptions” (p. 7) and being “comfortable with uncertainty” (p. 6). My data analysis and discussion of findings reveal, in fact, the complexity of my central research question. My ‘taken-for granted assumptions’ are challenged. My main assumption was formulated as follows: given KM has been introduced at par with Oriental / Arabic languages, it is expected that KM becomes a strong marker of Creole identity construction for Creole primary pupils. In fact, for Schram (2006), the aim of qualitative research is closer to problem generation (“problematizing”) than problem solution. In line with the intellectual tradition of critical theory which underpinned my theoretical framework discussion (chapter 4), the current discussion adopts an interpretive approach which is defined by Sandelowski and Barroso (2003) as follows:

The defining feature of such findings is the transformation of data to produce grounded theories, ethnographies, or otherwise fully integrated explanations of some phenomenon, event, or case. [...] Such explanations are composed of a science- or narrative-informed clarification or elucidation of conceptual or thematic linkages that re-present the target phenomenon in a new way. (Sandelowski & Barroso, 2003: 904)

Based on the above quote, I transformed the data for my critical ethnography by using an integrated approach for analysis and discussion of findings. As presented in the preceding chapter, I had four sources of data with their categories namely interviews (Source 1) with heads of school, teachers and parents, class observation (Source 2) with KM and GP classes, document analysis with curriculum, textbook (Source 3) and Hansard and Delphi Method (Source D) with three rounds of questions and discussions by mail. In the presence of these four sources and their respective categories, I proceeded with a three stage analysis. First, I examined each source and the data from each category (for example, heads of schools, teachers and parents from source 1). Second, I juxtaposed the categories and I identified the commonalities and recurring issues coming out from the comparison exercise. Finally, I carried out a meta-analysis by identifying ‘thematic linkages that re-present the phenomenon’ that I have discussed till now ‘in a new way’. It is this meta-analysis which helps to adopt an interpretive approach and which is not just a listing of the themes. But for Kearney (2001) in Sandelowski and Barroso (2002), the interpretive discussion carries out three integrated operations.

First, there is a ‘dense explanatory description’ meaning that I explain and describe each theme. Second, there is a ‘shared pathway’. I find this operation relevant to critical ethnography as I think the discussion should reflect the meta-analysis of the data as a dialogical discourse of the researcher and the researched whereby ‘language is a continuous generative process implemented in the social-verbal interaction of speakers’ (Bakhtin in Denith, 1995: 26). Third, there is a ‘depiction of experiential variation’. Experiential variation means that ‘learning and understanding are often differentiated and distinguished from each other and people’s experience and thinking but they are necessarily related to each other’ (Fazey & Morton, 2003: 234). In fact, I tied my three research questions with these three integrated operations. Each research question has been organised as theme. In so doing, this gave me an interpretive frame with three main themes namely socio-historical processes of KM as an optional language in primary

education (section 7.2) , experiences (section 7.3) and observation of changes (section 7.4). The findings of the study pertaining to each research question are discussed under various sub-headings. At the end of each section I give a summary of the analysis and the findings. In the coming paragraphs, I discuss the three themes in turn.

7.2. Socio-Historical Processes Underpinning KM as an Optional Language

In this section, I analyse what the data brought as information on the socio-historical processes which led to the introduction of KM. Interviews with Head of Schools and Key informants plus Parliamentary Debates in the Hansard reveal three main information which I classify as follows: (i) from Marx to Kreol Renaissance (ii) Catholic church as catalyst (iii) Accommodating role of the State. I analyse and discuss them in turn.

7.2.1. From Marx to Kreol Renaissance

In chapter 2, I identified and discussed the milestones for KM after independence as ruptures. Data from Hansard confirmed that the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and 2004 (to which I referred in chapter 2) were crucial years with the development of a burgeoning literature in KM (1980s), the introduction of KM bulletin on TV (1980s and 1990s) and the elaboration of Grafi-larmoni (2004). But central to these milestones is the Creole identity movement which I discussed lengthily in chapters 2, 3 and 4. Data from interviews with KM teachers and from Hansard confirmed the key role played by the Creole identity movement behind the introduction of KM as an optional language. Allusion to the Creole movement was made by the KM teacher Sabrina who observed that the Creole struggle was completely obliterated in the training programme for KM teachers with only one lecturer making reference to the struggle. The speech delivered by the former Minister of Education, Honourable S.Obeegadoo and as reported in the Hansard gave a better complete overview of the socio-historical processes covering the period 1967 to date. The milestones he identified such as the work of the militant linguist Dev Virahsawmy, the adult literacy programmes conducted by LPT and PrevokBEK are similar to the socio-historical overview I gave in chapter 2.

In chapter 3, I described how when Honourable S. Obeegadoo was Minister of Education, the ideological positioning of his party and his own left wing bent together with members of the Grafi Larmoni committee who were of the same leftwing generation as the Minister, has influenced the standardisation of the KM orthography. Data from his speech and when cross checked with other members of Parliament showed that the evolution of KM has been marked by a movement from Marxism to Creole (Kreol) identity claims. This is why I would qualify this movement in the following terms: 'from Marx to Kreol renaissance'. I mention 'Marx' because the MMM is a leftwing party and it has always adopted a class analysis of society. The term 'Kreol renaissance' was used by the former Minister himself in his speech when he compared the Creole struggle to the Indian community in the first half of the twentieth century who in the days of colonisation asserted their Indian cultural heritage. So, the statement of his former Minister of Education is very telling if we take into consideration that it came especially from one of its front bench members who is known as the only Marxist ideologue left in the party. In fact, I mean the MMM Party has not really addressed or referred as explicitly to the Creole identity movement as it did until now through Honourable Obeegadoo. In the context of ethnic politics, the MMM Party whose grassroot base has been the Creoles, has paradoxically always played down the Creole identity movement. In the course of its evolution and in line with other socialist parties in the world, the MMM has adopted a more pragmatic outlook at societal issues and an analysis of its discourse since the 1980s show that the party has always made reference to the majority community (Hindus) and the Muslims but it never did so for the Creole community in such clear words as it did in the Hansard. This adds weight to the argument that I developed in chapters 2 and 3 about the key role played by the Creole identity movement.

The above analysis leads me to say that the Creole identity movement has shaped the introduction of KM. In a certain way it created a space for the Creole child in school. The Creole child was getting the possibility to study its language. In chapter 2, I referred to the position of the Catholic church which stated that it was a legitimate right for Creole parents to make their children study KM. In other words, this automatically gave legitimacy to the language and cultural identity of the Creole pupils at school after KM was introduced. But, prior to the introduction of KM, only pupils who studied Oriental languages got recognition. For example,

the school time table was organised according to the Oriental languages classes so as to allow Indo-Mauritian pupils attend these classes. As a Mauritian, I could still remember in my primary school days when we used to call the Oriental language pupils ‘ hindi, urdu and tamil’ pupils to distinguish them from Creole pupils who followed catechism classes. Oriental language classes were conducted at the same time as catechism classes. While the Indo-Mauritian pupils were defined by their language identity, Creole pupils were defined their by their ‘catechism class’. The introduction of KM brought a change in identity of the Creole child. The latter’s identity was now a language identity and not a church belonging identity. At the same time, this confirms the view of Hawkins (2005) about language strength and cultural strength (which I referred to in chapter 3). Language strength and cultural strength were defined as the willingness to identify oneself as a member of a group. Language becomes therefore the visible sign of identification.

Basing myself on the socio-historical overview conducted by the Honourable Member of the MMM Party and the observation made by the KM teacher that Creole identity movement was pushed under the carpet during the training for KM teachers, I would say KM became the language and cultural strength (Hawkins, 2005) of the Creoles giving them not only visibility but more importantly political legitimacy as a recognised entity amongst others in the Mauritian society. So the introduction of KM as an optional subject was marked by KM as symbol of language and cultural strength of the Creole community. As far as the Creole pupils were concerned it meant that when Creole parents opted for KM, these pupils were studying a language which represented the strength of their community and this should normally impact positively on their language identity construction. But at this point, I would rather look at the key actors, as revealed by the data, who participated in the socio-historical processes.

7.2.2. The Creole Priest Cerveaux as Socio-historical Catalyst

Data from interviews with Head of School, KM teachers, Key Informants and the Hansard all highlighted the catalyst role of the Creole priest Roger Cerveaux catholic church. According to OED (2012), a catalyst is a substance that increases the rate of a chemical reaction without itself undergoing any permanent chemical change. Figuratively, ‘catalyst’ is a person or thing that precipitates an event. For instance, the Hansard mentioned the malaise creole, translation work

of the Catholic church and the PrevokBEK programme in education as milestones at national level for the progress of KM. Also, data from KM teacher interviews mentioned the ‘first training’ that the catholic education authorities conducted on KM. For Spiritual (Key Informant), the catalyst was the ‘malaise creole’ statement made by the Creole priest Father Roger Cerveaux in 1993. Triangulation of the Hansard with the Key Informant interview clearly indicates that the Creole catholic played a key role in the socio-historical processes. His statement even forced the church to issue an Open Letter on ‘Le malaise creole’ which was addressed to all catholics and Mauritians. According to my Key Informant, both the statement and the Letter were the starting point of all the Kreol language issue. My discussion in the preceding chapter referred to these events.

In the chapter 2 (section 2.4.7) I referred to Palmyre (2008), who stated that by the term ‘malaise creole’, Cerveaux wanted to describe plight of the Creoles who victims of the slavery system, were abandoned by their own intelligentsia, alienated culturally by the Catholic Church and selfish politicians. I also referred to Chan Low (2004) for whom the ‘malaise creole’ was used to describe the marginalisation, invisibility and social exclusion of the Creoles in the Mauritian society at large. With regard to the Bishop Letter, I explained how the newly appointed Bishop had to address the Creole issue in the church. While my Key Informant qualified the malaise creole as a ‘schism’ in the church, I discussed this issue as a ‘rupture’ in chapter 2. Having said that, however, what is more interesting with the data is that it singles out the role of Father Roger Cerveaux. The data leads me to draw a parallel here between the impact of Cerveaux’s statement and the discussion I had in chapter 2 about social epistemology of truth (section 2.2.3) and Kreol Enlightenment (section 2.4.3).

When discussing social epistemology of truth, I used the term ‘collective doxastic agent’ (Goldman, 2011) which means the capacity of a group to create a counter knowledge and belief. In this sense, the malaise creole statement turned into a ‘collective doxastic agent’ in the church. In my discussion in chapter 2, I also mentioned the ‘epistemology of testimony’ (Lackey, 2011: 15) which means justified true belief or knowledge accepted as true just on the basis what other people tell us. In the light of the data, the malaise creole statement appeared to have been an ‘epistemology of testimony’. Just as I explained in chapter 2 that it was on basis of knowledge

brought by key actors who struggled for KM which persuaded policy makers to take a policy decision with regard to KM, in the same way I would say the Church made progress on the Creole issue thanks to the new knowledge brought by a Creole priest. The sincerity of Cerveaux's statement created trust and confidence in the genuineness of the Creole cause. In my discussion on ideology (chapter 2), I referred to Lukács' concept of reification which means that ideology can lead to a thingification or trivialisation (Harris, 1990) of an issue central to human relations. Prior to the statement of malaise creole, the Creole community has been in a state of 'trivialisation'. Kreol language was limited to songs only during masses. The linguistic and cultural dimension was not central to the church but was restricted to the periphery. Similarly if the first article of the linguist and militant scholar Dev Virahsawmy in 1967 ushered in a Kreol Enlightenment period as I discussed in chapter 2, I would be tempted to say that Roger Cerveaux's statement made the Catholic church of Mauritius experience its first *aggiornamento* in its contemporary history. The term '*aggiornamento*' is a term used in the Roman Catholic Church meaning the process of bringing up to date methods and ideas in the church. It was a key term used associated with the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) to which I referred to in chapter 2 as a major reform movement in the Church. Indeed, the 'malaise creole' was the beginning of a 'rupture' (concept which I developed in chapter 2) for the church. It broke away from a French colonial church. The data on Cerveaux's statement ties in with the Gramsci's view of the role of the organic intellectual as I discussed in chapter 4. According to Gramsci (1971) the organic intellectual creates a counter-hegemonic vision and stages a cultural revolution through subversion. Cerveaux has been an organic intellectual in the catholic clergy.

For Spiritual (Key Informant), the Bishop had to be 'on the side of the Creoles' in the struggle for KM because the Creoles priests are not 'stupid people. The Bishop listens and consults them' (Spiritual interviewed on 2014, February, 16). The catholic priests supported the Creole identity claims for KM. Although the malaise creole statement was not linked with the language issue, it inevitably led to a reconsideration of the place of KM in catholic church structures amongst which are the Catholic schools. This might explain why the catholic education which was traditionally opposed to KM, unexpectedly introduced the first mother tongue based literacy

program called PrevokBEK in catholic schools. The case of Cerveaux shows that individuals can make a difference within a system.

This could explain also why my Key Informant could not help himself to refer to the memory of Father Laval (whom I presented in chapter 2 as the White missionary priest who worked with liberated slaves after the abolition of slavery in the 19th century) when he was talking about the malaise creole. Father Laval did make a difference in the context of a clergy and a dominant society which were hostile to his work with the former slaves. Similarly, Cerveaux did meet also at first with clerical hostility leading to a split in the church between Creole and White priests by the end of the 1990s. (Palmyre, 2008) This brings me to the discussion I had with my theoretical framework in chapter 4.

Both the classical Marxist and structuralist Marxist lenses (chapter 4) examine societal issues in terms of means of production, class infrastructure and superstructure (classical Marxist lens). The Althusser's structuralist Marxism developed the concept of Ideological State Apparatuses and cultural hegemony (Althusser, 1969). The case of Father Roger Cerveaux shows the limits of these two lenses as they fail to account for the agency of the individual. In this case the post structuralist lens with Foucault is more enlightening for our understanding. As discussed in chapter 4, Foucault (1982) looks at the 'exercise of power not only in terms of relationship between partners, individual or collective' but 'in a way certain actions can modify others' (Foucault, 1982: 789). Both the case of Father Laval and Roger Cerveaux shows that not being in a dominant position can paradoxically bring socio-historical change. It is on this account that the Head Teacher Annie in an interview told me that she could not imagine the socio-historical change which was taking place inside the church when she was asked by a priest to conduct a course on Credo in KM. The translation work of the French credo and the New Testament can be compared here to the translation work of Virahsawmy which I observed gave KM an acrolect status (Chapter 2). This change inside the church impacted the outside world. Data showed that the malaise creole and other events acted upon the State. In the socio-historical processes, the State played an accommodating role.

7.2.3. The Accommodating State

Data from Hansard showed that the State did not play a key role in the introduction of KM as an optional language. The State just took a policy decision at the right moment. The Minister of Education, Honourable Bunwaree declared surprisingly ‘this was our (his government, *my emphasis*) chance’ meaning that it was thanks to fortune that it happened that he was coincidentally Minister when the situation was conducive to the introduction of KM. He acknowledged that ‘honourable members of the other side and others [...] did not find the right way to succeed’ (Minister Bunwaree, Speech delivered on 2011, May 31st), implying which he succeeded to do. Apart from the political opportunism that this statement implies, it prompts me to deepen the discussion on the nature of the State which I conducted on the Althusserian’s Ideological State Apparatuses (Chapter 4, section 4.4.1) as part of the structuralist Marxist lens for my research. In order to get an idea of the nature of the State in the light of the statement reported by the Hansard, it is essential to re-examine briefly the relation of the State of Mauritius with the socio-historical evolution of KM. In the coming paragraphs, I base my discussion on the references I made to the State in chapters 1, 2 and 4.

As discussed in the preceding chapters, Mauritius is a post colonial state having as legacy the English medium of instruction. The section 43 of the Education Ordinance (1957) which established the language policy has never been amended but instead accommodated with the addition of optional languages. Chaudenson (2004) qualified this situation as “laissez-faire linguistic” policy with a minimalist intervention. In the list of optional languages, there is the first generation of ancestral languages (Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Marathi and Mandarin) whose existence date back to the colonial days. Then, Arabic was added to the list in 1981. As discussed in chapter 1, this addition took place with the influence of Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islamism especially with the opening of the Embassy of Libya. The case of Arabic was, therefore, the first example of how post-independent Mauritius addressed the symbolism of ethnicity, religion and languages. This decision to offer Arabic as an additional ancestral language is the way the Mauritian state manages ethnic diversity and especially ethnic claims. The same logic can be said to lay behind the government’s decision to introduce KM. As discussed in chapter 4, there are multiple factors of contradictions which Althusser (1969) called ‘overdetermination’. I would read the statement of ‘chance’ as a reflection of the

‘overdetermination’ upon various multiple factors which I discussed in chapter 4. The ‘chance’ statement translates political acumen on the part of the government of the day but more certainly corresponds to the distinction made by Milliband (1969: 23) between the instrumentalist and the structuralist dimension of the role of the State.

Within an instrumentalist perspective, the State is an instrument of the dominant class of society and is assumed not to operate in the interest of society as a whole. This is the classical Marxist definition of the State. But for structural Marxism (as discussed in chapter 4), the character of the State is not determined by who controls the State but by constraints of the societal structure which ultimately furthers the interests of the ruling class. The ‘chance’ statement confirms the structuralist perspective of the State. As I stated in chapter 4, the State took the decision under duress which through political rhetoric is presented as ‘chance’. In fact, the introduction of KM as an optional subject has been an accommodation policy with an additional language just as it was the case with Arabic in 1981. But the difference is that Arabic did not have the impact as KM. The case of Arabic was just a circumstantial accommodation of a diplomatic force represented by Libya. The case of Arabic and KM leads me to the discussion I made in chapter 4 about ‘polyethnic rights’ (Kymlicka, 2007) which is defined as a group specific measure intended to help. However, the case of KM is different from Arabic. For KM the State had to accommodate with a long history of class struggle, creativity and production of literary works, ethnic claims and mass mobilization. The character of KM as a national language made also a difference. Data drawn from Delphi Method indicated according to the experts’ views that the definition of heritage and ancestral languages in the Mauritian context focused on ‘ethnic’ origin instead of ‘linguistic’ origin. They said that people would more readily think of KM in terms of the ancestral language of the Creoles instead of seeing KM as the ancestral language of all Mauritians. I think the introduction of KM as an optional language indicates an accommodation with this double ethnic and national identity dimension. It is an accommodation which I would locate on a socio-historical continuum. At one extreme of this continuum was a total denial of KM and at another other one the socio-historical processes gradually led to the recognition of KM. But at the end of the day, the introduction of KM as an optional language in primary education has been a historical accommodation with the new sociolinguistic landscape of

Mauritius whereby KM became the language of ethnic claims and ethnic recognition. But at the same time, as data from Delphi Method confirmed, KM transcended the ethnic claims as teachers, researchers and participants who participated in the promotion of KM came from people of different ethnic background. So, I would say that the Creole pupils who took KM as an optional language since 2012 were studying in a favourable context of change with on one hand KM finding its legitimacy in the church with the progress of the translation works and adaptation in KM. This meant that Creole pupils of KM were gradually getting valued by their religion. On the other hand, the accommodation state policy helped to facilitate the introduction of KM. This accommodation policy made it possible to reconcile ethnic with national concerns and interests for KM. I would say then this fostered the relationship of the pupils between the language studied in class and his/ her cultural environment. For example, data drawn from the report of the psychologist on the drawings of the pupils indicated that their drawings showed that they expressed happiness with their KM class. The pupils reproduced both home and school in their drawings.

SUMMARY

This section examined the research question about the socio-historical processes which underpinned the introduction of KM as an optional subject. The data gave three findings. First, the socio-historical processes can be qualified as a movement from Marxist ideology and militancy to Kreol renaissance. Second, the Creole priest Roger Cerveaux acted as a catalyst both for his statement on the malaise creole and the authenticity of his position as an individual within a dominant French system. Third, the policy decision to introduce KM as an optional language was an act of political accommodation with a new sociolinguistic situation shaped by ethnic claims and identity.

With regard to my main research question, I made two observations. First, I stated Creole pupils studied KM in the context when KM positioned itself as ‘language of strength and cultural strength’. Second, the importance that the Catholic Church gave to KM in its liturgy and education services on one hand and the accommodation of the State policy with the Creole identity movement created optimal conditions for Creole pupils to study KM. I presumed that

this reinforced the relationship of the pupils with the language they were studying. The coming section looks at the experiences of the heads of school, school mentor and teachers on the introduction of KM.

7.3. Experiences of Heads of School, and Teachers

My second research question is about the experiences of the heads of school, and teachers on the introduction of KM as an optional language in primary education. I discuss below the answers that my data gave to this question. The data came mainly from interviews with the two heads of school, school mentor, KM and GP teachers with some references to the interviews of Key Informant.

7.3.1. The Existential Experience

My first question in the interviews was about life and professional experience (see interview guides from appendix 7 (A) to 7 (G)). Analysis of data on the question what experience did the respondents had on the introduction of KM showed that answers of respondents turned out to be a full narrative of their experience at both personal and professional level on KM. Respondents narrated how at one moment in their life they were confronted with a choice to be made as regard the language in which their children should be instructed, grown up with or exposed to.

Although she was working as teacher in a catholic school where French and English plus oriental languages were taught, Annie (Head of school) made, however, the choice to admit her children in a French private school or a catholic school. After her marriage, Joyce (GP teacher), her husband and she felt the imperious need to speak French at home with their new born child. Michael (Head of school) did not really make the linguistic choice a central issue to his life. But he said ‘a little French in life’ could always help. One commonality is Annie and Michael are of the same generation (Annie in her 50’s and Michael on the point of retirement) while Joyce is in her early 40’s. The life narratives by the respondents about their first encounter with the language issue are an illustration of the choice of language as an existential concern.

An existential concern can be broadly defined as a question which crops up when one is at a turning point in one’s life or in a situation which pushes for a search for meaning. For van

Tilburg and Igou (2011) existential concerns can relate to death, as an end to existence, values, or meaningfulness of life. They are issues which trigger inner psychological conflicts, judgments and behaviour. Butterfield and Borgen (2005) state philosophical queries in existence are from two perspectives: those queries which state how someone could or should live (macro-perspective) and those which frame what someone may be experiencing right now (microperspective). In my view Annie and Joyce fall in both perspectives. The choice of admitting one's child to a French school (Annie) and the choice of speaking only French with one's first child (Joyce) intersect with how someone should live and what someone is experiencing. Both respondents believed that embracing French as home language and culture speak to how they should live (macro-perspective). At the moment they made their choice for French, it made them feel that this was the only way for self-advancement, progress and social prestige (Annie) in life. For Joyce, this represented a personal struggle to break away from the remote and small village where she lived so as to make her place in the French milieu. Her admission to the prestigious catholic Loreto secondary school of Port Louis symbolised entry to the world of French language and culture. It was therefore quite natural that Annie and Joyce raised their children by speaking French at home and set high value on French culture. This had a direct impact on the language identity construction of their children. In fact, the philosopher Heidegger defines *Dasein* (existence) as 'Being -in- the world (Heidegger, 1949). No human existence can make abstraction of the outside world, living and struggling with its difficulties while being rooted in one's subjective sense of reality (Butterfield and Borgen, 2005). The respondents' existence is inextricably linked to their 'being-in-the world'. Theirs is the Creole world.

Joyce narrated that she grew up in the village of Goodlands which is situated in the north of Mauritius. Generally, Creoles who live in this village have a modest background. In primary school, all classes were conducted in Kreol. Her success at the Certificate of Primary Education (CPE) is taken as a victory over her Kreol Self. It meant that in spite of her inability to speak French (teachers had to address the pupils in Kreol because they could not understand French or English) during her primary school days, she had been able to make it and more importantly got admitted to this catholic secondary school which is the symbol of French culture. Joyce

explained how she felt bad at first because she could not express herself in French like the other school girls and that she did her best to speak French. Her mastery of French gave her confidence and she thought that this was behind her success at the Cambridge Ordinary level. In an indirect way, the attitude of the villagers also pushed her towards French. Her educational success created envy and jealousy in the village.

Joyce became a foreigner to the villagers, labelled enviously as the ‘little girl who went to Loreto’. Her admission to this school in those days meant that she got access to an inaccessible school⁶⁷ for the ordinary Creole villager. This was a school known for its bias for French language and culture which was the symbol of social promotion. The attitude of the villagers is typical of the ‘Tall Poppy Syndrome’ which is a term used to describe the cutting down to size of a successful individual by her/ his own community (Mouly & Sankaran, 2000). It is the interplay between her experience of ostracisation and the meaning or interpretation she made of that experience which led her to shape a new identity with French. The latter became henceforth the label of her social promotion. But this experiential relation with language and identity is highly differentiated at an individual level. This differentiation could also be on ground of age differences when compared to the two other respondents.

Respondents Anabella (GP teacher) and James (GP teacher) experienced something totally different. If the language issue was also an existential concern to them, it, however, came in a different way. It should be noted that both respondents were young teachers (in their twenties) as compared to Joyce and Annie and they were not yet married but this did not underrate the richness of their contribution to an understanding of the phenomenon under study. In the context of my research they represented that generation of young Creoles born after the major events which marked the Creoles, that is, the malaise Creole (1993), Kaya riots (February 1999), inscription of Le Morne Natural Landscape in 2008 and the International Kreol Festival (since 2006 to date) which were all discussed in chapters 2, 3 and 4. It is a generation who grew up with the Creole identity discourse and which gives an indication of the profile of the emerging

⁶⁷ As stated in chapter 3, prior to 2004 catholic secondary schools were not as socially diversified as today because the ‘mixed abilities’ policy was not yet introduced. As Joyce stated these schools were mainly dominated by Whites and Chinese who were more economically more advantaged than the Creoles. (Chapter 6).

middle class who particularly comes from the *site* (township). Anabella and James stated that they were confronted with the language issue when they were posted as teachers during their pre-service training in a school situated in a poor area (the case of Anabella) and a middle class school (the case of James). Anabella conducted all her classes in Kreol because the pupils had difficulties with English and French. James had to conduct his lesson in French or even address the pupils in French because it was a middle class school. At the time I interviewed Anabella and James, they were in their third and second years of teaching experience respectively and KM was on the threshold of entering schools as an optional language. They had witnessed and followed attentively my public advocacy, the position of catholic education and the Creole identity movement about the claims to KM as language of instruction and language of identity construction respectively.

Associating himself with this new wave of change in a certain way, James said to me: 'we had stories that our oldies told us but we never see them in books'. Thus, we have here two different attitudes in terms of existential concern: one which sees French as 'Dasein' and 'Being-in-the world' and another one which finds KM as such. A close look at the experiences showed that the pro-French choice is located into self-advancement and individualistic aspirations whereas the pro-KM choice is based on sense of belonging to a community and is focused on language and identity construction. In my literature review (Chapter 3), I discussed heritage language as 'community language'. It was found that from his perspective, heritage language is usually a non dominant language and when people chose to study this language, it translated the sense of a personal and family tie (Tseng & Fuligni, 2014; Fishman, 2001) plus some degree of collective affiliation (Mufwane, 1997; Niño-Murcia, and Rothman, 2008) between these languages and their speakers. This was what happened for James and Anabella. For them the announcement of the introduction of KM would usher a new period where the Creole child would 'know better his culture, his history' (James), 'the child will have a sense of belonging [...] a bond with this language' (Anabella). In other words, I would say that the young generation of teachers experienced the introduction of KM as a 'collective affiliation'.

In my view, this shows the birth of a new Creole world marked by a new configuration of the class composition of the Creole group and second, as a result this creates a new outlook on KM.

In my coming discussion I will refer to the views of Annie and Michael, Joyce, and Anabella and James as typical of three types of generations respectively. Based on data drawn from the interviews, I analyse the views of the respondents below in terms of generation which can further enrich my understanding.

7.3.2. Generational / Class Dynamics Experience

Novelist Douglas Coupland popularized the term ‘Generation X’ with his novel *Generation X, the Accelerated Culture* (1991) which was later conceptualized by to describe the generation born after Western World II baby boomers (1946-1964). Afterwards, the term gave rise to others to coin precedent and successive generations (Coughlan, 2009) with categories like the ‘Builders’ (prior to 1926), ‘Silent Generation’ (1927-1945), ‘Post Boomers or Generation X’ (1946-1964), ‘Generation Y’ (1977-1994) and ‘Millennials’ (1995 to date). These appellations for each generation are underpinned by the idea that ‘each generation is shaped by particular events and circumstances which determine the particular way that they view the world and their place in it’ (Coughlan, 2009: 39). Drawing from this model of generation classification and in line with the discussion I had on the ‘history from below’ in chapter 4, I elaborated my own generation classification to understand and typify the difference between the two groups of respondents. In my case, I have tried to identify three types of generations within the Creole community. Table 28 gives the birth years, generation name and the main feature of the social discourse which shaped each generation.

I ended up with the following appellation notably the *Patris syndrome* Generation (1950-1967), *Morisien Pa Kreol* Generation (Mauritian not Kreol Generation) and *Simen Lamliyer* (Light Pathway) Generation (1983-2000). Dominant discourses which shaped each generation were the anti-independence vote event, *Enn Sel Lepep Enn Sel Nasion* (One People One Nation) discourse which characterised the post-independence period until 1983, the Malaise creole discourse which dominated the public scene in the 1990s and *Montagn Le Morne* (Le Morne Mountain) discourse in the context of the struggle for recognition of the contribution of the slave maroons in the construction of the country.

BIRTH YEARS	GENERATION NAME	SOCIAL DISCOURSE
1950-1967	<i>Patris</i> Syndrome Generation	Anti-independence vote
1968-1982	<i>Morisien Pa Kreol</i> Generation (Mauritian not Kreol Generation)	Enn sel lepep enn sel nasion (One Nation One people)
1983 to date	<i>Simen Lalimyer</i> Generation (Light Pathway Generation)	Majority versus minority, Malaise Creole, Maroon slave & Le Morne Mountain

Table 28. A typology of Creole Generations

I now bring out the relevance of each Generation for my analysis and discussion.

The *Patris Syndrome* Generation refers to those born from 1954 to 1967. This generation grew up in the divisive years over the issue of independence as mentioned in chapters 2 and 4. I use the term ‘*Patris*’ which is the name of a steam ship on board of which many middle class Creoles (*gens de couleurs* or coloured Creoles) migrated to Australia and Europe⁶⁸ massively during that period. The working class Creole who could not afford to pay a trip had to stay in Mauritius and bore the stigmata of having voted against independence. This generation had to position itself in the new political order and found itself beheaded of its elite who migrated for greener pastures. It is for this reason that I use the appellation ‘*Patris syndrome* Generation’. A syndrome can be defined as a collection of signs and symptoms that are characteristic of a single condition. The condition of this generation was its abandonment by its leaders and the feeling of being torn between its rootedness to the country and the dream of a foreign land flowing with milk and

⁶⁸ The early years of independence was marked by a massive number of middle class Creoles who emigrated to Australia, England, France and Italy. This exile was fuelled by a campaign of fear and hatred by the anti-independence party (Parti Mauricien Social Democrate-PMDS) and his leader Sir Gaetan Duval against the new Hindu dominated political order. About 44% of the population voted against independence and it is estimated that a high percentage of the voters were Creoles. (Moutou, 1996)

honey. Its exiled Francophile elite left its imprint on its social memory and this explains why French has been viewed by the working class Creoles as an Epinal image of the successful Francophile Creoles who were living abroad. Working class families usually aspire that their children acquire the French language and culture. This is a form of alienation which I described in Chapter 1, leading the people to look down upon their own language.

In my classification, respondents Annie and Michael fall in the category of this *Patris Syndrome* Generation on two counts. First, Annie and Michael were of the post-independence generation. In their late 50s, they could be considered as heirs to the Creole generation who took position against KM as seen in chapter 2 when I discussed the opposition that the Creole linguist Virahsawmy had to face when he stated that ‘Morisyin’ should become the national language after independence. Annie and Michael grew up in this atmosphere of migrating to Europe or Australia just because there was a strong belief that there was no place for the Creoles in the country and that Hindus were taking control of every sector. Second, both Annie and Michael were in favour of French which is similar to the profile of the *Patris Syndrome* Generation. In fact, my observation led me to state that this generation experienced the introduction of KM as a most radical change because it was unimaginable for that generation to think that KM could one day be considered as a language and being studied at school. It took Annie time to understand what was happening. This was why she said that ‘I was taken aback’ when a catholic priest contacted her to run a course in Credo in KM. Not only KM was now being studied at school, but the fact that the church was using KM compounded her surprise. In this case, there was a shift in cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984). As defined in my theoretical framework, cultural capital is the ‘accumulated cultural knowledge’ that comes from education, family set up and social environment. For the *Patris Syndrome* Generation, French played a key role in the accumulation of this cultural knowledge. Speaking French and adopting the French culture were means to acquire cultural capital. The introduction of KM meant in a certain way that KM could be another means of acquiring cultural capital. Years of cultural alienation (Fanon, 1967) led Annie and Michael to develop negative language attitudes towards KM. But the introduction of KM in primary schools and its wide use in the church forced a change in Annie’s and Michaels’ language attitudes. They moved from resistance to acceptance. In my literature review, I referred

to Fishbein and Ajzen (1975:6 in O'Rourke, 2011) who define language attitude as a 'learned predisposition', that is attitudes are acquired through socialisation. In the case of Annie and Michael, based on their interviews I would say the introduction of KM led them to undergo an unlearning experience of the 'learning predisposition' acquired before. I mean they had to call into question their dispositions towards KM which they grew up with. I come now to my second type generation.

The *Morisien Pa Kreol* (Mauritian Not Kreol) Generation is that generation who grew up with the nationalist discourse of *Enn Sel Lepep Enn Sel Nasion* (One People One Nation) especially in the 1980s. Respondent Joyce was of this generation. I was also of this generation and I bring here my own personal insight. It is a generation which hesitantly adheres to the Creole identity discourse and especially if it is of the upper middle class and comes from the professional world of the private sector. In fact, Joyce's husband who is a Creole works in a well established private bank. This generation of Creoles like Joyce and her husband have been shaped by a Mauritianist discourse. The adjective 'mauritianist' comes from 'mauritianism' which is a local term coined to design a sense of belonging to the nation. Generally Creoles having the same profile as Joyce and Michael would painstakingly assert themselves as 'Creoles'. They would rather say they are 'Mauritians'. Defining oneself as 'Creole' would be considered as a form of communalism which is defined in instances where people care only for their narrowly concerned interests through the means of their religious faiths, old customs and conservative practices (Kumar, 2012, see chapter 1, subsection 1.2.2). In the 1980s there was a real effort to build national unity after the traumatic elections of 1967 which led to independence. Mauritianism became the rallying concept and it became also the dominant discourse of the catholic church. As such, the introduction of KM is experienced with mixed feelings by Joyce and her husband. For Joyce, the introduction of KM was an implicit definition of oneself as Creole and not as Mauritian. By acknowledging KM as an optional subject, they were forced to change their position on the Mauritianist discourse. The third type of Creole generation was finally more immersed into a Creole discourse than a Mauritianist one.

I qualify the generation of the period 1983 to date as the *Simen Lalimyer* (Light Pathway) Generation. Anabella and James were of this generation. The term 'Sime Lalimyer' (Light

Pathway) is a term which I borrow from one of the song titles of the Rastafarian singer Kaya who died in police cells in 1999, provoking civil riots. It was a generation who lived four important events, with one at international level and the others locally. Internationally, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and successive events in Eastern Europe leading to the disappearance of USSR (United Soviet Socialist Republic) created delusions in left wing ideology. The end of the Cold War bipolarisation between East and West, First World and Third World impacted on local politics in Mauritius. This led to a shift in local political discourse.

In Mauritius, the ideological discourse of left versus right receded. The end of the ideological era was superseded by a political discourse of majority versus minority issues. In fact, this change in political discourse came with a split in the major local socialist party which is the MMM and to which I referred at length in chapter 2. In 1982, the MMM Party in alliance with the PSM (Parti Socialiste Mauricien) came to power with a landslide victory winning all the 60-seats at the National Assembly. After nine months, the MMM left the government and one of the controversial issues was the translation of the national anthem from English to KM on the Independence Day celebrations under the aegis of the Minister of Arts and Culture who was from the MMM. The Prime Minister Aneerood Jugnauth who was the President of the MMM created another party named MSM (Mouvement Socialiste Militant) and some Ministers of the MMM joined his party, thus giving him a short term majority. Snap elections were held in 1983 and as from them the political discourse shifted from class to community. The MMM represented the Creole, Tamils and Muslim minorities while the new born MSM represented the Hindi-speaking community. The MSM went in alliance with two other traditional parties namely the Labour Party and the PMSD (Parti Mauricien Social Democrate). The MSM-Labour-PMSD Alliance won the General Elections. Although KM was not a political issue during that period but the Creole and Muslim communities felt marginalised by the Hindi-speaking majority. The three other events which marked the *Simen Lalimyer* Generation were the malaise creole discourse (which I discussed at length in chapter 2), the Kaya February 1999 Riots (which I discussed as one major rupture in chapter 2 paving the way to ethnic claims for KM) and the struggle to have Le Morne Mountain inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List (which I also discussed in chapter 4 as a foundation myth). The funeral of the Rastafarian singer Kaya

Tolbize took place in a catholic church situated at Roche Bois which is a Creole locality located in the suburb of Port Louis. His song *Simen Lalimyer* was sung by the choir and since then it became a protest song which many church choirs took afterwards during Sunday masses. The song (see bilingual version at appendix 11) states the only way for progress in spite of difficulties in life is to take the path of light. The song says that the rich has to give away all wealth and the poor has to lead a life of honesty. Thus, the *Simen Lalimyer* Generation grew up in a different political and social climate compared to the two preceding Creole generations.

Anabella and James are of the generation which has been the most exposed to the Creole identity discourse marked by resistance and resilience. But today it is at the same time a generation living in the digital age and network society (Castells, 2001) characterised paradoxically by both a globalised identity and a localised one. This generation experienced the introduction of KM as a strong identity marker and equal access to the State sponsored resources for the Asian languages.

So far, I argued there is a generational dimension which explains partly the pro-French choice of the *Patris Syndrome* Generation, the mixed feelings of *Morisien Pa Kreol* Generation and the pro-Kreol choice of the *Simen Lalimyer* Generation. With regard to my main research question, these experiences of the head of school, school mentor and teachers imply that Creole children who studied KM had educators who looked at KM from different life perspectives. One category of educators saw French as the symbol of social prestige and grew up their children with this mindset. Bu this same category evolved in its position on KM when the latter was gaining ground and was finally introduced as an optional subject. A second category of educators (the youngest teachers) had a positive outlook on KM. Contact with these educators surely influenced the language identity construction of the pupils. I assume that the *Simen Lalimyer* Generation teachers who were the youngest would have a more long term impact on the Creole pupils as they would work with these pupils until they completed their primary education. It could mean therefore that Creole pupils grew with a more Creole identity consciousness as the *Simen Lalimyer* Generation teachers have been shaped by discourses of malaise creole and narratives of slave maroonage through Le Morne Mountain. At this point I would like to raise the debate from Delphi Method where the experts made the remark about who could be defined as a Creole pupil. One expert asked ‘what do we understand by the Creole child?’ and observed if we should

not take into consideration class distinction amongst the Creoles. This question of class distinction was raised in Chapter 1 when I discussed the typology of Creoles as defined by Boswell (2006). I stated that with the rise of the Creole identity claim movement which was symbolised by the FCM (Federation des Creole Mauriciens) during the period 2006-2010, class distinction became secondary. Recognition for KM became a rallying issue transcending class. In order to further support my argument, I also looked at the different experiences of three Generation of teachers towards KM from a class perspective.

Basing myself on Hollingstead's 'Four Factor Index of Social Status' (Hollingstead, 1975)⁶⁹, teachers fall in the category of 'lesser professionals' on the occupational scale with other occupations such as librarians, nurses or officials of public administration. Respondents of three Generations have working class origins and grew up in a less advantaged region. The cases of *Patris Syndrome* and *Morisien Pa Kreol* Generation reflect generally the typical life story of Creole individuals and families in their journey to upward social mobility. This story is generally characterised in the early years of social mobility by questions like making a choice for the place of residence, school, language, taste and life style. These are factors which the Creole *nouveau riche* accounts because they represent the 'starting capital' for accumulation of cultural assets. As discussed in chapter 4, my classical Marxist lens showed that infrastructure determines the base, and as the infrastructure is dominated by the White French speaking sugar plantocracy, French becomes obviously the dominant language. For the social category of teachers, language and culture represent the artefacts of social advancement. It is quite normal then that the choice is for French for the *Patris Syndrome* Generation and not Kreol. I think it is a rational choice in the context of the economic and social structure of a society in a particular period of time. This choice reveals the subaltern position of the Kreol language and culture which from a classical Marxist lens is explicable. Given that the Creoles are not the dominant economic group, it goes

⁶⁹ The Four Factor Index of Social Status (Hollingshead, 1975) is premised on three basic assumptions: (i) a differentiated, unequal status exists in society (ii) there exist four primary factors indicative of social status namely, education, occupation, sex and marital status (iii) when these four factors are combined, researchers can 'quickly, reliably and meaningfully' estimate the status individuals positions individuals and members of nuclear families occupy in society. Although this measurement was designed for social status in USA and apart from its limitations like any sociological tool, I consider it is transferable and applicable to the class structure of Mauritius.

without saying that Kreol language cannot be the prestigious language and marker of social mobility.

However, a new situation has cropped today so that Annie said ‘I am taken aback when Father A.R who has mounted this Credo course in Kreol contacted me. [...] This is something new and revolutionary in the church’. In chapter 4, I explained that the church as an Ideological State Apparatus in the Althusserian theory is viewed as an apparatus which consolidates the status quo. But I pointed out that the church has contrarily contributed to change with the rise of a Creole clergy and an Afrokreol intelligentsia. Annie’s statement confirmed the comment which I made. My ‘Generation Typology’ and ‘Class analysis’ lead me to observe that the Creole community is going through a generation and class dynamics with the choice of language as an axiological issue. I observed that there is *Patris Syndrome* Generation (1950-1967) which was diametrically opposed to *Simen Lalimyer* Generation (1983 to date) in the sense, conversely to the former, the latter does not associate social mobility with French but with success in educational achievements and fidelity to one’s origins. Anabella stated that both her brother and her succeeded in education and worked as teachers but she liked to continue living in her township. She even said that she preferred the term ‘site’ (township) than ‘residence’⁷⁰. I consider this emphasis on the use of ‘site’ demonstrates a desire to define one’s own identity and not to be defined by others. For the Creole pupils whose teachers were like Anabella and James, this meant that their teachers valued their culture and social environment. They did not have any negative bias against their own locality. In fact, both Anabella and James lived in the same locality as their pupils. In a way the teaching of KM reinforced the pupils’ sense of belonging to their environment because the teaching of KM was not associated with social mobility as it was for the teaching of French with teachers like Joyce. In the case of KM, learning KM was appreciated on its own and not as a means for social mobility. My data further demonstrated that the teachers especially experienced self-actualisation, pride and prejudice on the introduction of KM. In the coming section I will deal in turn with these experiences.

⁷⁰ There have been some attempts in the 1990s to rename the ‘site’ (approximate translation is ‘township’) as ‘residence’ by some community social workers to combat prejudices associated when one lives in a township. But in reality people continue to use the term ‘site’.

7.3.3 Self-Actualization, Pride and Prejudice

Investigation of my research question about the experiences of the teachers on the introduction of KM led me to ask them how they found the training and curriculum. My data provided me insights into the pioneering role of the KM teachers and the implications of the introduction of KM in the ‘formal school system’. I would like to mention here that although the PrevokBEK programme which I referred to in Chapter 2 was the first mother-tongue project in the formal education system yet the introduction of KM in primary schools was of a different order and had wider implications at national level. Therefore this means that the teaching of KM is conducted in a formal way with a designed curriculum and syllabus and a prescribed textbook which were not the case for PrevokBEK. I would like to use a quote from the Director’s Report 2011 of the Mauritius Institute of Education (MIE) as support to my data analysis. The Director’s Report 2011 gives an account of preliminary works that were conducted prior to the introduction of KM in 2012. The excerpt reads as follows:

The MIE has been able to devise a comprehensive teacher education programme to support pioneer teachers in embracing their role as teachers of Kreol Morisien. In this spirit, notwithstanding the drafting of a syllabus for Kreol Morisien and school textbooks, a series of co-curricular activities were organized including a conference by the Ombudsperson on Children’s Rights. The main thrust was to provide teachers with an adequate background to be able to understand the implications of introducing Kreol Morisien in our formal school system.

The Mauritian Kreol Unit has also been set up in September 2011 at the MIE. The main objectives behind the creation of this Unit are to train teachers as well as develop the curriculum, syllabus and textbooks. More importantly, the Kreol Unit has a significant research role to play in order to document the process scientifically. (Mauritius Institute of Education, 2011)

This report highlights (i) the ‘pioneer’ role of KM teachers (ii) lists the core activities related to the introduction of the subject (viz. teacher training and elaboration of curriculum and syllabus) (iii) informs about the setting up of a Mauritian Kreol Unit since September 2011. In my view, there are two important aspects related to the introduction of KM which the report raises. These two aspects are namely (i) the rationale underpinning the various preliminary activities which ‘was to provide teachers with an adequate background to be able to understand the implications of introducing Kreol Morisien in our formal school system’ and (ii) ‘the Kreol Unit has a

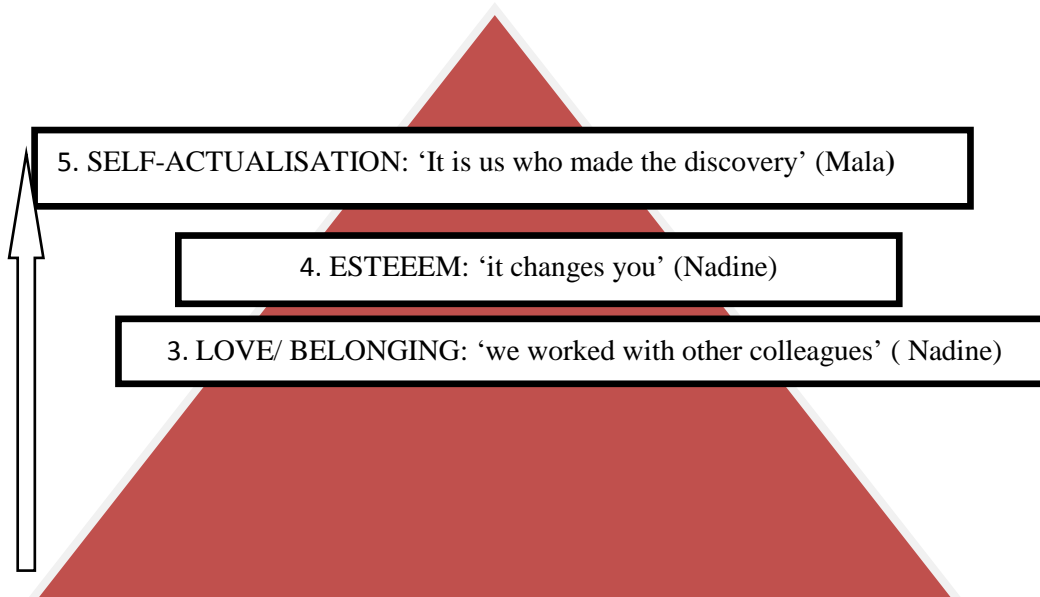
significant research role to play in order to document the process scientifically'. The experiences of the teachers related more to the first aspect.

My data showed that KM teachers seemed to confirm the perception that they chose to teach KM on purely individualistic basis. Michael (Head of School) was quite blunt about the motivation of the GP teachers who shifted to KM teaching during the transition period (2012) before fresh recruitment of KM teachers was conducted. He said that these teachers and those who were recruited chose to teach KM just because they were looking for the same privilege of going early and having a light time work load as the Oriental language teachers. In fact, there was a strong perception that Oriental Language teachers have greater advantage compared to their GP colleagues for same pay and conditions of work. This perception is confirmed by the strong divergence between the two unions representing these two categories of teachers. A recent policy decision giving the possibility for Oriental Language teachers to be appointed as Head of School in their career path has created much controversy. The General Purpose Teachers Union (GPTU) expressed its strong reserve against this decision because it considered the training content for Oriental teachers is not as substantial as that for GP teachers. The union considered that GP teachers have more merits than Oriental language teachers to become head of school (Seegum, 2014). But for the Hindi Teachers Union (GHTU), given that both teachers have the same qualifications, they claim both must get same career opportunities⁷¹. It is, however, evident that Oriental Language teachers have only one subject to teach as compared to five for the GP teachers. The statements of my respondents seem to confirm to some degree that their motivations to choose KM might have been the prospect of working with the same advantageous conditions like their Oriental language colleagues. In fact, they could get back to their post of GP teachers if they were not satisfied during the transition period. None of my KM teacher respondents did so. But a close analysis of the data led me to make a distinction between the

⁷¹ In 2012 a group of Oriental language teachers who have twenty five years of experience lodged a complaint at the Equal Opportunity Commission (EOC) against the Ministry of Education on basis of discrimination. They decried that they were debarred from applying to the post of Deputy Head whereas GP teachers could do so with the same number of years of experience like them. Following a favourable statement of EOC in 2014, the Ministry of Education informed took the decision to allow Oriental language teachers to become Head of school. (2014, February 19, *Le aurcien* newspaper).

time invitation was launched by the Ministry of Education to get the first batch of KM teachers and when the teachers were appointed in their substantive capacity as KM teachers. My data revealed a gradual evolution and transformation of the teachers' from the moment they volunteered to be KM teachers to the time when they were appointed as full fledged KM teachers. This evolution can be better understood by using Maslow's hierarchy of needs as framework for data analysis.

Given the data revealed that this evolution was more specifically in terms of motivation, I chose Maslow's theory of motivation (Maslow, 1943) which identifies five level needs that impact an individual's motivation. It starts with the basic needs (physiological) and moves to the highest needs in ascending order with self-actualization at the top. Table 29 shows the level of needs of the KM teachers in terms of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Applying the discourse analysis, I studied closely the statements of my two KM teacher respondents and I identified at which level they could be located. Figure 7 shows each level of needs, accompanied by a corresponding statement of the respondent which reflects that specific need. Below, I give a brief explanation of each need according to Maslow (1943). I then comment the corresponding statement (physiological needs are self-explanatory).



2. SAFETY: 'we were not really taking a big risk' (Mala)

PHYSIOLOGICAL: Food, sleep, sex, breathing, etc

Figure 7: KM Teachers' Motivation as per Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

Safety Needs: 'we were not really taking a big risk' (Mala)

The second level of needs is the safety needs. The broader aspects of the attempt to seek safety would be preference for the known rather than the unknown and familiar rather than unfamiliar. At this level, respondent Mala stated that accepting to shift from GP teacher to KM teacher did not represent a risk for the teachers ('we were not really taking a big risk', Mala interviewed on 2013, October, 11) who did so as their conditions of service remained the same and, as stated in chapter 1 they could revert at any time to their GP post if ever they were not satisfied.

Love / Belonging needs: 'we worked with other colleagues' (Nadine)

The third level is love and belonging needs. According to Maslow (1943), if physiological and safety needs are satisfied, thereafter the need for love, affection and belonging will emerge. Accordingly, respondent Nadine shared the happiness of her colleagues and hers to work together during training at the MIE and on the writing panel ('we worked with other colleagues', Nadine interviewed on 2013, September, 12).

Esteem Needs: 'it changes you' (Nadine)

The fourth level is esteem needs. Any individual in society has a desire for 'a stable, firmly based, (usually high evaluation) of themselves. Esteem needs can be of two kinds: self-esteem and esteem by others. Respondent Nadine was explaining how she felt confident after she completed the training. Looking back at the training sessions, she stated that 'it changes you' (Nadine interviewed on 2013, September, 12).

Self-actualization: 'It is us who made the discovery' (Mala)

the different languages. Parents could choose for the first time KM. This data was drawn from short interviews that I conducted with parents on the days of registration exercises for admission to Standard I. My data revealed there was a utilitarian essentialist strategisation in terms of language attitude by parents. My observation comes after I studied the choice that parents made for KM as an optional subject. By utilitarian I mean the idea that the use of something will not do harm to oneself but will be of benefit to oneself on the contrary. Utilitarianism as defined by the British philosopher John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) is ‘according to the Greatest Happiness principle [...] an existence as far as possible exempt from pain, and as rich as possible from enjoyments...’ (Mill, 2009 [1879]:22). When I analysed the motivations of parents or teachers, I saw their choice was based primarily on this ‘absence of pain’ and ultimate benefit that the language could bring to their children.

Respondent Mireille (School Mentor) was an interesting case because her opinion was from the vantage point of both teacher and parent at the same time. In her life experience with language, Mireille narrated how her first posting as a novice teacher in a rural school was an encounter with an unknown language and culture notably Bhojpuri and the Indian culture. It was however, a positive experience which she appreciated. She said that this could have been partly the reason which motivated her to choose Hindi for her daughter. At that time KM was not yet introduced and there was no talk of ‘optional languages’ but only ‘Oriental languages’. She then also added something very important which was decisive in her choice. She made this choice ‘so that she (*her daughter*, my emphasis) has a bigger chance to have better results at C.P.E’ (Chapter 6, section 6.2.2.1.1). I would say then that the ‘Greatest Happiness’ for Mireille was to expose her child to another culture which would enrich her world view and at the same time choosing Hindi gave her daughter a competitive edge when she would sit for the C.P.E examination⁷². Data drawn from Delphi Method indicated that the experts which I interviewed were all of the view that it was ‘academic achievement [...] which was the first motivation of parents who opt for KM’. With regard to the future they also stated that as long as the C.P.E would remain in the

⁷² Since January 2004, Oriental/Arabic languages are included in the grading system, having the same status as all other examinable subjects for the CPE examination. The weighting is as follows: English: 3 points; French: 2 points (Asian languages/Arabic as an option: 3 points); Mathematics: 3 points; EVS: 3 points. (Sonck, 2005: 45)

